

‘A clear flame-like spirit’: Georgiana Burne-Jones and Rottingdean, 1904-1920

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In 1880 Edward and Georgiana Burne-Jones bought a house in Rottingdean, Sussex, as a country and seaside retreat from London life. Later they enlarged the building, now known as North End House, and following Burne-Jones's death in 1898 it became Georgiana's main residence. By this time she was established as a leading radical activist in the village and its outlying district Black Rock, rallying support for the newly-created Rottingdean Parish Council, becoming a catalyst for development of public services, and acting as a bulwark against the power of landed and business interests.¹ After some initial success, but following the mobilisation of village conservatives, who won control in 1896, Georgiana became increasingly frustrated with her work on the Parish Council. Unwilling to commit herself to the new three year term of office for parish councillors, she left the Council in 1901, and intensified work on her *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, which was published in November 1904.

Georgiana submitted the manuscript of *Memorials* in the spring of 1904, immediately after which she turned her attention to establishing a village nursing service, a long standing ambition prompted initially by the birth in 1890 of her first grandchild Angela, to Margaret and J. W. ('Jack') Mackail. Although the child was not born in the village, the arrival of her grandchild made Georgiana conscious of the absence of dedicated midwifery and nursing services in Rottingdean and the prohibitive cost for working-class families of private nurses and doctors. We know very little about Georgiana's first nursing scheme from the early 1890s, but it is certain that it was based on training a village woman, possibly following the Cottage Nursing system pioneered in Surrey by Bertha Broadwood, and that it was short lived.² We can be sure that it soon faded, because its passing was lamented by a group of village women who wrote to Georgiana in 1897 supporting her manifesto for re-election to the Parish Council, and because

she herself raised the need for a village nurse as a fitting way to commemorate the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.³

The issue was kept alive in the village during ensuing years, so when the Sussex County Nursing Association was formed as the co-ordinating body for nursing associations in the county in November 1901, Rottingdean was represented by Edward Aurelian Ridsdale, Georgiana's one-time political ally on the Parish Council and family relation by marriage.⁴ Through Ridsdale the village kept a watching brief on the County Association as it grew and in 1902 became affiliated to the Queen Victoria Jubilee Institute for Nurses, the national charity responsible for setting standards and training of district nurses. But it was not until April 1904, after Georgiana had delivered her manuscript of *Memorials* to the publishers, that a meeting was called in the village in order to gauge support for a village nursing association. According to the parish magazine the meeting was well attended by the 'mothers of the village', who endorsed the proposition that a local society be formed in order to employ a district nurse who would live in Rottingdean and be available for general and midwifery cases.

All villagers earning not in excess of 25 shillings (*ca* £72) per week were eligible for family membership, which could be paid annually at 4 shillings (*ca* £11) or 4d (*ca* £1) per month. Start-up funds for the society, formally named the Rottingdean District Nursing Association, were provided by well-off local residents, including among others Georgiana (the largest single donor), Sir Edward Carson MP, then Solicitor General, who owned a house in the village, Carrie Kipling, wife of Rudyard Kipling (who was Georgiana's nephew and who lived with his family in Rottingdean between 1897 and 1902), and Margaret Mackail. With these financial guarantees, Georgiana elected as joint secretary, and a committee of local dignitaries – including some of Georgiana's political adversaries – the Association engaged its first nurse in May 1904.⁵

Following a successful first year, during which the Association reported that it had 'equalled expectations', Georgiana, as the busiest member of the management committee, confronted a number of difficulties which required skilful handling.⁶ First, a high turnover of nurses had undermined continuity of care, rendered record-keeping difficult, and required Georgiana to take a more active role in operational matters than should normally be the case. Second, refusal of one nurse to undertake midwifery cases necessitated an amendment to the Association's rules and practices so that a doctor could be paid for these duties. Third, and most serious, the death during late 1907 and early 1908 of two village women – one of them an Association member – of puerperal fever, required Georgiana to voice criticism of the acting doctor because he 'practically ignored antiseptic treatment and was opposed to trained nursing and its methods'.⁷ Fearing village gossip, and rumours that the Association was 'hushing something up', Georgiana composed a statement published in the parish magazine quoting from a medical

committee of inquiry into the deaths exonerating the nurse from any blame and stating that she had acted properly throughout.⁸ Fortunately for the Association the doctor left the village and was replaced by a man whom Georgiana believed ‘to be all we can wish, and I do hope he will go on well’.⁹

Georgiana’s proficiency in handling these delicate matters was undoubtedly decisive in establishing confidence in the Association, which by 1914 grew significantly to include ‘the great majority of families in the village’, ‘and nearly all pay their subscriptions most regularly, as they realise the benefits the Association confers, and the necessity of maintaining it’.¹⁰ Numbers of cases nursed, and nurse visits paid to villagers’ homes, more than doubled between 1905 and 1911, added to which from 1908 East Sussex County Council contracted the Rottingdean Association to provide a twice-weekly school medical service in the two village schools.¹¹ Now on a sound footing, the Association acquired land from the local Abergavenny estate in order to build a nurse’s cottage in Nevill Road. This house was paid for within twelve months, and occupied during late 1913.

Despite only being joint secretary for many of the years up to 1914 when she relinquished the post, it was Georgiana who provided the driving force to make the Rottingdean Association a success. Although always one of two Rottingdean representatives to the General Council of the Sussex County Nursing Association, Georgiana took the leading part, standing down only in 1918. Nor did she shirk the routine work of the Association as she explained to friend Charles Norton in 1906. She was ‘much taken up by the Nursing Association we have in the village and of which I am the secretary. I cannot do anything lightly, and have no administrative power or capacity for using agents – so that all I do is at the cost of what might be called necessary labour, but my belief is that the cost of a thing does not matter if the thing is accomplished, so I toil on’.¹²

Georgiana’s repeated appeals for working-class villagers to take an active role in the management of the Association, so that it would become ‘self-managing, as a co-operative society of this kind ought to be’, echoed somewhat Morris’s political views, repeated her aspirations for the short-lived village mutual credit society set up in 1896 which she also inspired, and distinguished her from other titled ladies participating in similar nursing schemes whose motivations were philanthropic.¹³ Achieving this degree of involvement, however, proved difficult, and during Georgiana’s years the committee remained exclusively composed of well-meaning and well-off villagers including a number of prominent conservatives whose party, the only organised political force in Rottingdean at the time, faced little or no challenge at election times and dominated the Parish Council.

Although Georgiana retained political allies in the village – she made a special effort to influence clergyman Arthur Wynne when he arrived at St Margaret’s Church in 1901, by encouraging him to read Morris – the truth was that she was swimming against the trend of events, which favoured commercialisation

and the provision of facilities for holiday-makers and day-trippers arriving in their cars. These they drove dangerously around the village, leading one local newspaper to state that 'Rottingdean resembles Purley Corner to a very great extent'.¹⁴ When in 1921 the Parish Council was asked how it could contribute to the growth of rural industry, it remarked that close proximity of Rottingdean to Brighton, and the fact that that town was largely a seaside resort, meant it would not be receptive to such developments.¹⁵ Prestige house-building, particularly towards East Hill and along the coast to Brighton, was significantly increasing the population, and changing the character of Rottingdean from rural working village to dormitory suburb. New houses, including some Georgiana believed to be 'ugly', were often out of character with village vernacular, and doubtless she would have agreed with the sentiments of her old friend Philip Webb, who visited Rottingdean for convalescence in 1903 and remarked that 'the 20th cent carried on the 19th for brutalising all simplicity in original settlement ... the leprosy of modern vulgar ostentation is gradually eating into its grace'.¹⁶

From these houses came the next generation of Conservative parish councillors, some of whom benefited from the practice of allowing nomination from within the Council of new members to replace those standing down between elections. The effect of this process was to re-enforce Conservative control of the Council in which business interests – now not even directly connected to the village – were to the fore. Although Wynne acted as a progressive force on the Parish and District Councils, where he served for a number of years until his departure in 1917, he was usually in a minority. Rottingdean farmer and large employer William Brown, who in 1889 had acted controversially with Steyning Beard (see below) in order to enclose waste land near his Challoners home, remained without challenge the village's representative on East Sussex County Council.¹⁷

Meanwhile, village refuse collection and street-cleaning were inadequate, there were complaints of defective drainage and cesspools, the pond on the Green was sometimes stagnant and foul, services to the working-class Black Rock district remained under-funded by the Parish and District Councils, and most significantly working-class housing remained primitive. Epitomising such contradictions was Steyning Beard, the once powerful squire of Rottingdean and political adversary of Georgiana, whose 3,000 acres (1200 ha) and extensive property portfolio was by the turn of the century heavily mortgaged in order to pay for his horse racing debts.¹⁸ Searching for a way to pay his creditors, he sold land for middle-class housing development east of the High Street and at Roedean – where in 1906 he had a public footpath diverted in order to facilitate access – at the same time as the Medical Officer of Health for Newhaven Rural District Council was forcing action against him because of dilapidated and insanitary workers' cottages.¹⁹ In 1910, Georgiana supported Wynne's proposal, when he was a member of the Rural District Council, that they enforce the Local Govern-

ment Board's advice on rigorous inspection of houses even if it meant 'pulling down old insanitary cottages and building new'. This suggestion was met with a retort by Ernest Beard, landowner and son of Steyning Beard, who had died in 1909, that 'you would have to pull down half the buildings, and who is going to pay for it?' Wynne's answer, 'The landlords', was unequivocal but promptly ignored by the District Council and nothing was done about public housing in Rottingdean until the early 1920s.²⁰ For her part, Georgiana kept up pressure on the Parish and District Councils concerning environmental matters, and still occasionally paid directly for improvements to be made in the village, but more and more she narrowed her efforts to sustaining the Nursing Association and ensuring that it would survive when she had gone.²¹

Predictably, Rottingdean conservatives described by one local newspaper as 'the principal residents of the village', were enthusiastic members of the branch of the National Service League when it was established in October 1910.²² The presence of the League, a national pressure group seeking to alert the country to the inadequacy of the British Army to fight a major war, and proposing compulsory national service, added another layer to the already pervasive enthusiasm for militarism in the village, fostered originally by Rudyard Kipling at the time of the Boer war. Although now living away from Rottingdean, Kipling retained an interest in the 'patriotic' activities there and allowed the fledgling village scout-group to use a room and a large yard of his remaining property.²³

Among the scout-masters was Charles Stanford, Conservative parish and district councillor, headmaster and proprietor of St Aubyn's private preparatory school in the village to which Oliver Baldwin, son of Georgiana's nephew Stanley, arrived as a pupil in 1908. Oliver later wrote that Stanford had 'a most violent temper that he was unable to control', and that 'the school was essentially "patriotic". We waved flags, we marched, we had little guns that fired little black cartridges, we formed square[s] to receive cavalry, we beat drums, we sung "God Save the King" and "Lest we Forget" ... The result of this teaching was to teach me that one Englishman was worth ten foreigners, six Irishmen (if they came from the south) and I forget how many other races. We thought the Army and Navy the finest professions in the world'. Given this schooling, it is no surprise that he told great aunt Georgiana that he wanted to be a soldier when he left school and remembered 'how she explained to me that killing was hardly a Christian profession, and although I listened to her earnest and beautiful voice and knew the gentleness of her soul, hers was but a lone voice crying in the wilderness, and it is only since the war I have realized she was right'.²⁴

Georgiana was indeed upset by the Great War, and struggled to retain her natural optimism during those years. She told Sydney Cockerell in April 1917 that she 'rejoiced at the Russian revolution', but mostly her correspondence from that time includes such phrases as 'this hideous war', 'the general state of the world is

beyond words', and 'a common calamity of so huge a size', which for Georgiana expressed itself as loss of life within the family; Kipling's son John died in France in 1915, and thirty seven men from the village were killed, sons of families many known personally to her.²⁵ To a friend Elizabeth Beard, wife of Ernest Beard, she wrote in December 1917, expressing sympathy at the loss of her brother concluding that 'I also mourn that we cannot "serve our country" in less terrible ways, and look forward to the extinction of war as the beginning of true civilization and perhaps Christianity'.²⁶ When in 1920 the village considered erecting a traditional war memorial on the Green, Georgiana urged her friends to support an alternative proposal of 'endowing a bed in a hospital – while for daily reminder I would put all their names, beautifully engraved, on a large tablet upon some prominent wall in the middle of the village. There they would be seen by everyone daily, and the boys and girls of the schools would be familiar with them, and many a stranger would stop and give a tender thought to them'.²⁷ This appeal, issued only three weeks before her death and just as she was to depart to London, was made because Georgiana feared that a memorial would be a symbol useful to those who would glorify the war, a motivation she believed immoral.

Despite her increasingly fragile health, Georgiana made regular trips away to visit family and friends; only when such journeys were beyond her did she retreat into Burne-Jones's old studio in North End House where, by 1917, she had installed gas heating stoves and a telephone. There, she read Chaucer – 'and can almost hear Morris laughing for my mistakes must be many' – Dickens, Ruskin and, of course, Morris. When a 'Morris celebration' was proposed in 1918 she was uncertain because 'these two words to my ears sound like sweet bells jangled out of tune and I always feel as if I hear Morris protesting'.²⁸

Georgiana was deeply saddened in 1909 at the death of her dear friend Esther Ridsdale, and then, a year later, Cormell Price, whom she had helped rent a property in the village with his family when he became ill. But she continued to enjoy regular visits from close friends from the village, among them Alice Clarke, who lived in the nearby house known as Hillside, and Sylvia Lawrence, the arts-and-crafts enthusiast at Roedean School, which had provided the base for a Suffragette campaign in the village during 1911. Later Georgiana made the acquaintance of Isabella Rodber Horton, an independent woman whom she described as 'the most gentlemanly lady I ever saw. Not at all unwomanly, and a personality such as one never thought to meet here in Rottingdean'.²⁹ Rodber Horton had at one time been a poor-law guardian in London, but had moved to Rottingdean in 1915, first to The Dene (the Ridsdales old home) and then The Elms (where the Kiplings had lived). Georgiana became increasingly fond of her, as she told Cockerell in 1918: 'She has fallen into a pleasant way of coming over for an hour between tea and dinner on Sunday evening, and I look forward to her visits with great pleasure. She is, I would think turned sixty years old, and vigor-

ous beyond words. Our lives have never come near each other, but we understand each other, I think; at all events to such an extent to stimulate me'.³⁰ And then, of course, there were the visits from family members which were always a special treat. Edith, Georgiana's younger sister, would come for a month in April, while, during summer, the house was thrown open to grandchildren and great grandchildren.³¹ On one such occasion in 1914, just weeks after the outbreak of war, a photograph was taken (Figure 1) of Georgiana and her great grandson Graham McInnes, who had been born to Angela and James Campbell McInnes in 1912, which she sent to Cockerell with a note: 'Margaret urges me to send you the enclosed. It is curiously emblematic of what I – as the past – feel about the future. I cling to it and love it, and hope in it, in spite of the present. ... Of which there is so much to think that I can say nothing'.³²

By the summer of 1919 Georgiana, now 79, encouraged by Margaret and Jack Mackail, who wished her close by, was planning taking a flat or rooms in west London 'so as to rehearse the change as it were'. She was undecided about what to do with North End House – 'there is no certainty I shall sell it' – but had clearly accepted that she should move to the capital on a permanent basis.³³ In the end, she only moved to London during mid-January 1920, accompanied by her maid, and then to the home of her sister Louisa, at 55 Holland Road, Kensington. This house was convenient for visits to and by the Mackails, and Angela, who had married George Thirkell following her divorce from McInnes in 1917. As the diary entry of her maid for 16 January recorded, Georgiana was delighted to share time with her great-grandsons Graham and Colin, who were about to leave with Angela and George for Australia: 'The final goodbyes to Mr. and Mrs Thirkell and the dear boys came to tea by special invitation to my Lady's great joy'.³⁴ Acute bronchitis further weakened Georgiana's cardiac and respiratory condition, and she died at 55 Holland Road on 2 February 1920.

Georgiana's body was cremated at Golders Green Crematorium on 5 February. The following day, her ashes were interred at St Margaret's Church, Rottingdean, the casket lowered by Margaret and Philip (her son) into the same grave where Burne-Jones's ashes had been deposited in 1898. A memorial tablet to Georgiana and Burne-Jones was set into the exterior wall of the Church soon after: this remains the only obvious physical reminder of Georgiana's life and work in Rottingdean, the blue plaque on North End House commemorating only Edward's residence. However, a modern-day visitor could also note the presence of 15 Nevill Road, now a private residence, but from 1913 until the 1970s the home of the district nurse employed by the Rottingdean District Nursing Association (and after 1934 a second nurse). The Association is Georgiana's most significant and lasting contribution to social progress in the village, belying Jack Mackail's assessment that 'when the *Memorials* were finished, she felt her work in this world was in a sense done'.³⁵ In fact, Georgiana's social and political work,



*Figure 1—Georgiana Burne-Jones and her great-grandson Graham MacInnes in 1914.
By permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum*

which commenced properly in 1894, continued after 1904, and *via* her efforts to improve health-provision for the working people of Rottingdean she remained the ‘clear flame-like spirit’ of Mackail’s description.³⁶

Incorporation of Rottingdean District Nursing Association into Brighton District Nursing Association in 1948 served as delayed recognition of the village’s link to Brighton – Rottingdean became part of the Borough of Brighton in 1928 – but also marked inception of the National Health Service, into which district nursing services were finally integrated in 1973.³⁷ Georgiana Burne-Jones only lived long enough to see the earliest Edwardian experiments in social insurance and welfare, but had she known that the socialist movement to which she gravitated (but without joining any party), would give birth to a universal and comprehensive health service it is likely that she would have been gratified that in a small way the Rottingdean District Nursing Association, in common with hundreds of similar local nursing societies across Britain, prefigured its existence and provided the infrastructure for a UK-wide district nursing service.³⁸

NOTES

1. Stephen Williams, ‘Making Daily Life as Beautiful and Useful as Possible: Georgiana Burne-Jones and Rottingdean, 1880–1904’, *Journal of William Morris Studies* Vol. XX, No. 2, pp. 47–65.
2. The Burne-Joneses knew the piano-manufacturing Broadwood family. However, Bertha Broadwood’s papers, held at the Surrey History Centre (2185/BMB) do not confirm that the first Rottingdean nursing experiment was connected to the Cottage Benefit Nursing Association. Bertha’s younger sister Lucy, the well-known collector of English folk-songs, met James Campbell McInnes during 1899, and supported his training, and it is possible that she introduced Angela Mackail to McInnes (see Dorothy de Val, *In Search of Song: The Life and Times of Lucy Broadwood*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011, p.119). In her biography of Angela Thirkell, Margot Strickland states that Angela’s younger sister Clare, knew McInnes prior to Angela’s introduction to him in March 1911 and was a ‘fervent member of his personal entourage’ (Margot Strickland, *Angela Thirkell: Portrait of a Lady Novelist*, London: Gerald Duckworth, 1977, p. 25).
3. Printed letter from Georgiana Burne-Jones (Hereafter GBJ), 15 July 1897, in the archives of the Rottingdean Preservation Society, The Grange, The Green, Rottingdean, BN2 7HA; *Sussex Advertiser* 24 May 1897.
4. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Sussex County Nursing Association, East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO) AMS 6583/1/1. Edward Aurelian Ridsdale’s sister Lucy had married Georgiana’s nephew Stanley

- Baldwin at St Margaret's Church, Rottingdean in September, 1892.
5. *Rottingdean Parish Magazine*, May-July, 1904. ESRO PAR466/7/4. Modern monetary values from UK National Archives Currency Converter; <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/> (as seen 2 May 2014).
 6. *East Sussex News*, 16 June, 1905. (All newspapers referred to can be consulted at the British Library Newspaper Collection, London).
 7. Archive of the Queen's Nursing Institute at the Wellcome Library SA/ QNI/Q.6/8; UK National Archives PRO/30/63/430.
 8. *Rottingdean Parish Magazine*, April, 1908; ESRO PAR466/7/4.
 9. UK National Archives PRO/30/63/430.
 10. *Rottingdean Parish Magazine*, June, 1914; ESRO PAR466/7/4.
 11. Annual Reports of the Sussex County Nursing Association; ESRO, AMS 6583/10.
 12. GBJ to C.E. Norton 22 September, 1906, Harvard Houghton Library (hereafter Houghton); Harvard bMS AM 1088 (860)
 13. *Rottingdean Parish Magazine*, July, 1912;
 14. *Rottingdean Gazette and Ovingdean Observer*, 8 March, 1911.
 15. Minutes of Rottingdean Parish Council 4 February, 1921; ESRO, DB/B54/3
 16. GBJ to Sydney Cockerell, 20 June 1918, National Art Library (hereafter NAL), Victoria and Albert Museum, NAL/MSL/1958/694/40. Georgiana had recommended that Webb stay in Rottingdean with Mrs Dabney in order to convalesce. Mary Dabney was the widow of Congregationalist Minister Joseph Dabney, who with Georgiana had been elected as a 'progressive' to the first Rottingdean Parish Council. Georgiana came across Webb staying in Rottingdean in November 1903, 'of ancient memory – old and bent, but with the familiar voice of long ago like a ghost from the past'; GBJ to Norton, 9 November 1903, Houghton Harvard bMS AM 1088 (892). Webb's comments on Rottingdean are from his letter to Elizabeth Flower of 12 November 1903, British Library, Add Ms 45355 f.38
 17. Georgiana's granddaughter Angela Thirkell, wrote of this period that 'We were not personally on visiting terms with Farmer Brown'; Angela Thirkell, *Three Houses*, London: Alison & Busby, 2012, p. 139. However, Georgiana did associate with Brown's wife Mary on the committee of the Nursing Association.
 18. Laurian d'Harcourt, *Rottingdean: The Village*, Seaford: DD Publishing, 2001, pp. 125-128. d'Harcourt, daughter of Sir Roderick Jones, managing director of Reuters and his wife Lady Jones (the writer Enid Bagnold) lived in and extended North End House from the mid-1920s. d'Harcourt's village history is critical of Georgiana activities: '... one can see how shocking and absurd the goings-on must have seemed in the eyes of the Beards. She had the last laugh though, or her family did. Unfairly, owing to her husband,

- and the blue plaque on North End House, they are remembered, while in spite of 400 years of residence the Beards are forgotten'. (pp. 140–141) Derek Heater's study (*The Remarkable History of Rottingdean*, Brighton: Dyke Publications, 1993, p. 64) is equally scathing of Georgiana's political activities, accusing her of 'socialist do-goodery'. In contrast, Seburne Moens, headmaster of a village private school, and for many years chairman of the Rottingdean branch of the Conservative party, provided a more balanced assessment of Georgiana, whom he knew somewhat, in his village history, where he recognises her many qualities and her role in establishing the Nursing Association. (Seburne M. Moens, *Rottingdean: The Story of a Village*, Brighton: John Beal, 1953, pp. 96–98). Georgiana's role in the Nursing Association – 'entirely due to her initiative' – was also acknowledged in *The Rottingdean Parish Magazine*, March 1920; ESRO PAR466/7/4.
19. Minutes of Newhaven Rural District Council; ESRO, 31 July 1903 (DL/D/211/6), 8 March 1907 (DL/D/211/8).
 20. *East Sussex News* 23 September, 1910
 21. For example, see Minutes of Rottingdean Parish Council 5 July 1905 (DB/B54/1) and 3 October 1912 (DB/B54/2), and Minutes of Newhaven Rural District Council, 8 September 1905 (DL/D/211/8), both held by the East Sussex Record Office.
 22. *East Sussex News*, 14 October, 1910.
 23. *Rottingdean Gazette and Ovingdean Observer*, 8 March 1911.
 24. Oliver Baldwin, *The Questing Beast*, London: Grayson, 1932, pp. 20–21, 28–29.
 25. GBJ to Sydney Cockerell, 12 April 1917; NAL/MSL/1958/694/16.
 26. GBJ to Elizabeth Beard, 28 December 1917; ESRO BRD 14/52.
 27. GBJ to 'Friends', 13 January 1920; ESRO ACC 8642/3/7.
 28. GBJ to Sydney Cockerell, 20 March 1918; NAL/MSL/1958/694/35.
 29. GBJ to Sydney Cockerell, 30 May 1916; NAL/MSL/1958/694/2.
 30. GBJ to Sydney Cockerell, 10 February 1918; NAL/MSL/1958/694/33.
 31. Angela Thirkell's *Three Houses* (See Note 17) is a brilliant evocation of her childhood visits to North End House during the 1890s. Georgiana was very kind to all children, as remembered by Ruth Wynne, daughter of Arthur Wynne in 1936 when she described Georgiana as 'the fairy godmother of the village. Children would visit her because she owned a magic cupboard from which she would produce the most enchanting toys that were ever seen. She wore a fascinating little cap of lace and ribbon and kept her shoulders warm with a shawl of the softest wool'. *The Sussex County Magazine*, September 1937.
 32. GBJ to Sydney Cockerell, 19 August 1914; NAL/MSL/1958/693/120.
 33. GBJ to Elizabeth Beard, 21 August 1919; ESRO BRD 14/55.

34. 'Diary of a Maidservant', Worcestershire Record Office, Misc.705:775/8229/14/iii. In Georgiana's letter to Sydney Cockerell of 11 December 1919 (NAL/MSL/1958/694/54) she wrote that she planned to take her maid 'who has been with me nearly 3 years' to London, but does not name her. According to the UK Census, Annie Louise Gillmor (sometimes Gillmour; 1872-1948) was with Georgiana at Rottingdean in 1911 as a housemaid, but it cannot be established that she was the 'Annie' who kept a diary of the last days of Georgiana's life.
35. *The Observer*, 8 February 1920. The obituary was written under a by-line 'By an old friend'. Cockerell's manuscript volume (NAL/MSL/ 1958/693) includes a separate printed copy of the *Observer* obituary notice below which he gives Mackail's name as the author.
36. *The Times*, 4 February 1920. Fiona MacCarthy (*William Morris: A Life for Our Time*, London: Faber & Faber, 1994, p. 250) identifies this notice as being written by Mackail.
37. Maud F. Gill, *District Nursing in Brighton, 1877-1974*, Brighton: Benedict Press, n.d. (1974?), p. 79.
38. The link between the work of local nursing associations affiliated to the Queen's Nursing Institute and the founding principles of the National Health Service is made by Enid Fox, 'Universal Health Care and Self-Help: Paying for District Nursing before the NHS', *Twentieth Century History*, Vol. 7, No.1, 1996, pp. 83-109. See also Enid Fox, 'District Nursing in England and Wales before the National Health Service: the Neglected Evidence', *Medical History*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 1994, pp. 303-321.